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618 of throwing light on their racial relationships ought to be welcomed.

[619] How complicated their tribal and clan subdivisions are is seen in the following table given by the Kaizak ethnologist Mustafa Chokayeff, to explain his own standing in the Kaizak nation.¹ He belongs to—

Turkic race,
Kaizak nation,
Middle orda,
Kipchak tribe,
Toru-aibgyr clan,
Shashli sub-clan,
Boshai branch (in Russian *koliemo*),
Janay sub-branch (*podkoliemo*).

The *tamga* may be regarded as the symbol of a sub-clan (*tayfa* among the Kaizak, *kyrk* among the Kirghis); a group of families affiliated by blood, because it is such groups which usually live together, and whose live stock, whether reindeer, horses, or dromedaries, are marked by this symbol. The *tamga* appears also on their various belongings, as well as on the graves of deceased members of the clan.

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• 172 The antiquity of these symbols can be judged from the fact that they are to be seen on the old Nestorian monuments, and on the monument to Khan Kul-Tegin in the valley of the Orkhon, on which the inscriptions are in old Turkic characters, dating from 732 A.D.² Those who boldly derive the old Turkic written

¹ A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I-II, 1915, p. 162.

² N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, p. 43.

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character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.¹

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamga* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

¹ Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

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Archaeology.

- 172 Special attention is now being given by scholars to the archaeological remains of Turan, especially to those of Southern Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Although it is only recently that organized investigations have been carried out, they were already known to the early Russian travellers, for some mention of them is made by Witsen, who visited this region in 1692, while the next traveller, Dr. Messerschmidt (1720), speaks of the existence among the Russian settlers of the 'industry' of plundering the old graves for the sake of the iron, bronze and particularly gold objects found in them. The men engaged in this, called *bugrovshchiki*, would organize parties of between two and three hundred, and start on their expedition in the 'season of the hunter', i. e. in the spring, and return with their plunder in the autumn, living during the winter on the proceeds.

The fame of this old metal-work reached Peter the Great—the same emperor who, as the legend runs, used to summon Siberian shamans to his court. He issued a Ukaz prohibiting plundering, and ordered the local officials to purchase such objects. Though a certain number of them have thus been saved for European museums, plundering had not ceased even in the summer of 1915, when the author saw old bronze and iron in common use among the Russian settlers.

The early travellers give merely descriptive accounts, and archaeological investigations did not begin until the nineteenth century. Among those whose energies have been thus employed are such earnest workers as Radloff, Aspelin, Klements, Yadrintseff, Adrianoff, Tallgren, and Gränö.

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To pass now to a short review of these antiquities. 172 •
Though they consist chiefly of metal cultures, some mention must be made of the pre-metal remains.

There are remnants of Stone Age stations along the southern Yenisei and its tributaries, between Krasnoyarsk and Minusinsk, but nearer to Krasnoyarsk than to Minusinsk. According to Adrianoff¹ they may be ascribed to the Neolithic period, but another Russian scholar, Savyenkoff, would place them in the Palaeolithic period.² It seems, however, fairly certain that although some of the implements found by Savyenkoff in Bazaikha, on Mount Afontova near Krasnoyarsk, and in other places, may be of Palaeolithic type (according to the catalogue of the Peter the Great Museum in Petrograd they are of Mousterian and Aurignacian types), the stations are more accurately described as Neolithic. Many of them might be called kitchen-middens. In any case the Stone Age remains lie outside the scope of this essay, though stone implements have been found together with the bronze, copper, and gold objects of the succeeding age, and even with objects of the Iron Age.

Burial-mounds, called kurgans, are spread in hundreds and thousands from the River Irtysh to the River Orkhon. Judging from the objects found in these kurgans they belong either to the Bronze or to the Iron Age. Connected with the kurgans are the stone figures called by the Russians *baby* (sing. *baba*), and by the Turkic natives *koyolash*, and also the stone

¹ A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904.

² I. T. Savyenkoff, *The Stone Age in the Minusinsk Country*, 1896, and *The Palaeolithic Epoch in the Neighbourhood of Krasnoyarsk*, 1892.

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memorial tablets covered with inscriptions in the Old Turkic language, called Uigur, many of which have now been deciphered. Independently of these inscriptions, there are on the cliffs and rocks of this region traces of pictographic writings, so far uninterpreted.¹ Russian investigators call the Old Turkic characters 'runic inscriptions', and the pictographs *pisanitsy*. In addition to all this, there are remnants of irrigation canals, copper-mines, and fortresses, these last called by the natives *shibe*.

Generally speaking, all these antiquities of the Metal Ages, known by the Russians under the vague appellations of 'Chud' or 'Tuba' remains, fall into two groups:

1. Remains of the Bronze Age, including copper and gold objects, the burial masks, the remnants of mines, and some of the pictographs.
2. Remains of the Iron Age, with which must be reckoned the stone memorial tablets with inscriptions, the stone figures, and the remnants of fortresses.

The Bronze Age of this region is divided by Tallgren² into the following periods:

- I. Period dating (possibly from about 3000 B.C.) to 1000 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: daggers, light

¹ N. S. Voronyei, 'Rock Pictures found on the frontier of Turgai and Syr Daria Territories along the River Lack-Pay', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, 1916, Nos. iii and iv, pp. 57-61; A. V. Adrianoff, 'Preliminary Information regarding the Pisanitsy collected in the Minusinsk Country in summer 1907', *Bull. Russ. Committee*, 1908, No. viii, p. 37.

² A. M. Tallgren, *Collection Tovostine*, Helsingfors, 1917, p. 20.

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spears, and socketed celts. Ornament purely geometric. 172●

II. Period dating between 1000 and 500 B.C. No kurgans of this period are yet known. Chief implements: socketed double-looped celts, daggers, knives in great number. Ornament partly geometric, partly zoomorphic. Figures of animals as handles of daggers.

III. Period after 500 B.C. Kurgans, or burial-places surrounded by quadrangular stones. Ornament chiefly zoomorphic; towards the end of the period vegetable ornament appears. Contact with Scythian art is strongly noticeable.

The majority of the bronze objects found in this region belong to the third period. Here also must be placed the collection of knives of various shapes almost unknown in Scythia. A common type is a knife with a well-formed ring at the end, recalling the Chinese knife which degenerated into the round copper 'cash', but to the same period belongs a type of dagger with a heart-shaped guard, reminiscent of the Scythic dagger of Eastern Europe.

As far as the Iron Age is concerned, its place is usually defined by the dates of the historical events mentioned in the inscriptions. The greater number of the graves of this period are estimated to belong to the time between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. But the Iron Age must have started much earlier, as we know from the Chinese histories that in the second century B.C. the Hiung-nu, then living to the north of the Chinese, were using iron implements.¹ Judging from the forms of the implements, the early Iron Age

¹ A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, p. 5.

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of this region seems to be a continuation of the Bronze Age in another material. It is only in the late Iron period that new forms appear,¹ and hence it is probable that while the early Iron was evolved by the people responsible for the Bronze culture, the late Iron culture may have been brought by some new-comers, possibly, though not necessarily, of another race.

The honour of having first deciphered the Old Turkic inscriptions belongs to the Danish scholar Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen,² working in 1893, and the investigation was continued by Professor Wilhelm Radloff of Petrograd³ from 1894 onwards.

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The Yenisei inscriptions are chiefly funeral tributes to deceased Khans or *Khagans* of the 'Kyrgys' (Kirghis); those of the River Orkhon in North-West Mongolia, which, judging from the more finished form of the writing, are of later date, contain historical and ethnographical information, and are ascribed to the Tu-kiu. Thus our knowledge of the Turanian Turks, which has been obtained by analysing the often confusing annals

¹ W. W. Radloff, 'Siberian Antiquities', *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1902; *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, chap. vii; F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du bronze au musée de Minoussinsk*, Stockholm, 1893; D. A. Klements, *Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum. The Remains of the Metal Ages*, Tomsk, 1886; I. P. Kuznietsoff-Krasnoyarski, *The Minusinsk Antiquities, Copper, Bronze, and Transitional Periods*, Tomsk, 1908; J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, Helsingfors, 1877.

² *Inscriptions de l'énissei recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, 1869; *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 1892; V. Thomsen, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées', *Mém. Soc. Fin.-Ougr.*, V; N. Yadrintseff, *Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, Literary Collection, 1885.

³ W. W. Radloff, P. Melioranski, &c., *Collection of Documents of the Orkhon Expedition*, 1897.

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of Chinese historians, has been amplified, and difficult points to some extent cleared up, by the interpretation of these inscriptions. 172
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The older type of inscriptions is engraved; the later type is written on the stone, in some cases even in colours, but the art of using colours was apparently introduced by the Mongols and the Chinese. The Orkhon inscriptions are bilingual, the second language being Chinese.

The richest collections of objects of both Bronze and Iron cultures are to be found in the Minusinsk Museum, and in the Petrograd and Moscow Museums. Next to these come the Museums of Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk. The beginning of the excavation of the kurgans dates from about 1881; among the last thorough investigations are those of A. M. Tallgren (1915) in the Minusinsk region, and of A. V. Adrianoff in the Uriankhai country. 172
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Several attempts have been made to classify the various types of kurgans. Radloff¹ distinguishes as many as ten types; these, however, are not sufficiently clearly differentiated to admit of their being referred to ten distinct cultures. A broader division, based on the more apparent external differences between them, is into two groups. The graves of the first group have their surface level with the surface of the ground, and are surrounded by quadrangular stone slabs. They are usually associated with the Bronze culture, and the implements they contain are such as would be characteristic of a more or less settled population. The graves of the second group are covered with a raised mound, and are often surrounded by high slabs of stone resembling monoliths, which sometimes reach a height

¹ W. W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. II, pp. 68-143.

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- 172 of ten feet. These graves are usually associated with the Iron Age, and contain a large number of weapons of war. To the former type may be added the large mounds, called by the local natives *Chaa-tas*, which are collective graves, but usually contain one grave situated a little apart from the others, and showing much more finished workmanship. Graves of the first type are found especially on the banks of the upper Yenisei, and in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes. Graves of the second type occur in the basins of the Irtysh and the Tobol, and also side by side with those of the first type in the Abakan and Minusinsk Steppes, so that the classification cannot be pressed too far. Until further investigations provide sufficient ground for making a more detailed division, Tallgren, following Castrén and Aspelin, proposes to keep to this dual grouping.¹

It is not possible in this essay to go into further details with regard to the archaeology of this region, but, accepting the conclusions of the archaeologists, an endeavour will be made to trace the course of culture contact during the Bronze and Iron Ages, beginning with a consideration of the question how far the Siberian culture can be compared with similar cultures of corresponding periods elsewhere.

As we know, the kurgans of the later, i.e. the Iron Period, are not confined to these regions, but stretch all along Southern and Central Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, as far as the Vistula. Yet the kurgans of the Irtysh-Orkhon region have their own characteristic features, which permit of their being treated separately.

As to the other centres of the Bronze culture, the Kama-Ural centre is sometimes considered to be the prolongation of the Minusinsk centre. But Tallgren,

¹ Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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after comparing the objects found in both regions, **172 •** comes to the conclusion that the two groups are quite independent, and that what features they have in common are due to the fact that they were both influenced by the same civilization from the south and west.¹ E. H. Minns lays stress on the resemblance between the Bronze culture of Minusinsk and that of the Scythians.² While agreeing with Minns that the resemblance is considerable, Tallgren sees also a great difference, namely, that the Iranian influence coming from Turkestan at that time was stronger in Turan than in Scythia. In any case it is not the Scythian bronze that influenced the Minusinsk bronze, but rather the reverse.³

Just as the late Professor Donner looked upon the region of the ancient Sogdia, Bactris, and Iran as possibly hiding the earliest form of the Yenisei inscriptions, Tallgren looks upon it as the place where the Bronze culture of Minusinsk originated. From this archaeological evidence it would seem that the people of Turan took their knowledge of bronze-working from

¹ Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

² Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 241: 'The resemblances between the culture I have called Scythic and that of the early inhabitants of Siberia . . . are so great that it is impossible to treat the archaeology of South Russia without touching that of Siberia.' Thus Minns approaches the question of the Siberian remains from the study of Scythic remains, while Tallgren adopts the opposite method of taking the Minusinsk culture as the standard and comparing the other with it. This is the method that I have tried to follow in ethnographical questions, for it is always safer to define the Asiats in Asia before attempting to define the Asiats who invaded Europe. Recently a book appeared (J. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917) which on its purely archaeological merit deserves to be placed next to Tallgren's and Minns's valuable contributions, but the tendency of the author is strikingly Pan-German, and this prevents him from confining the subject within its proper geographical limits.

³ Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

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172 Iranian Turkestan, and developed it themselves. The Chinese influence, which was so powerful in the Iron Age, is not so noticeable in the Bronze Age. Thus, for instance, zinc, which enters into the composition of the bronze implements of Minusinsk,¹ does not occur in the bronze of China.² One of the most remarkable resemblances emphasized by Tallgren is that between the Minusinsk bronze and the products of the La Tène Celtic civilization. This is especially significant in the decorative motives, such as the geometrical patterns and the form of the handles of daggers.³

A few words must be said about the attempts at the representation of human figures in this old culture of the Minusinsk region. While geometric, zoomorphic, and, later on, plant ornament reaches a high stage of development, representations of the human form are rare and obscure. In the Bronze Age we find scarcely any. One of the few which were found forms the handle of a knife, and recalls a human figure now in the collection of the British Museum. Perhaps the most successful attempts at giving an idea of the human face are the burial masks found in some kurgany associated with the late Bronze Age, especially the gypsum casts.

Even during the Iron Age little progress is made in this form of ornamentation, but from this era onwards we have numerous stone figures, whose object is probably the same as that of the masks of the earlier period,

¹ H. Struwe, 'Analyse verschiedener antiken Bronzen und Eisen aus Abakan und Jenissei', *Bull. I. A. S.*, St. Petersburg, 1866, X, pp. 282-9; Brandenburg and Ivanowski, *Transactions of the Commission for the Chemical Technical Analysis of Ancient Bronze*, St. Petersburg, 1882.

² Tallgren, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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namely, to picture the dead person. The figures, some of which reach a height of three to four feet, are made of rude stone blocks, and almost all of them are characterized by the curious position of the hands, clasping in front a cup, or cup-like object. While the general appearance of the figure is highly conventionalized, the faces differ greatly. They are of both sexes; in fact the female sex predominates. Only some of them show Mongolian traits. Stone figures of similar appearance are found in Southern Russia, where they coincide with the belt known for its Scythic remains. These, however, are of much later date, since we know that some of the Turkic tribes who invaded Russia before the time of Jhinghis Khan, such, for instance, as the Polovtsy (Cumans), were in the habit of erecting such figures.¹ Though the custom of placing a small wooden figure of the deceased on the grave is known to many Turkic and Finnic tribes in Siberia, these old stones are taken by the modern natives for images of gods, and sacrifices are often offered to them.

The burial masks have, so far as is known at present, a very limited distribution. They have been found on Tagara Island quite close to Minusinsk, and at a spot about sixty versts to the south-east (Salt Lake).² Altogether not more than twenty masks are known from this region. But some have been found also in the Graeco-Scythic tombs of the Crimea at Glinishche. The masks are either white or coloured, and are found associated with the skull, or, in cases where the

¹ Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

² K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Burial masks of gypsum and a special type of trepanation in the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District', *Bull. of Tenth Arch. Congress in Riga, 1896*, p. 4.

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skull is missing, separately on a specially erected stone slab. In some cases it seems likely that the masks had been broken or partially burnt, together with other objects belonging to the dead person. In one kurgan at Salt Lake we find, besides the plaster covering the skull, clay and gypsum covering the first five vertebrae also; in this case the mask has not been taken from the face of the deceased, but covers the skull on a foundation of clay moulded to imitate the features. Thus we have to deal with two types of mask in this region. One is a plaster cast of gypsum, taken from the face of the deceased by the modern method of making a mould and taking a cast from it. Such masks are typical of the kurgans of Tagara Island, and are associated with the custom of burning the body and burying the ashes, or of burying the whole corpse in a standing position. The ashes are often buried alongside of the skull and the mask, and obviously the mask must have been taken immediately after death.

The other type, found in the kurgans called *Chaa-tas*, or communal kurgans, near the Salt Lake, is, properly speaking, not a mask but an artificial reconstruction of the face of the deceased superimposed upon the skeleton. This type is connected with the custom of burying the skeleton in a standing position,¹ and it must be supposed, therefore, that after death the corpse was left either outside the kurgan or in a temporary grave until the flesh had completely disappeared from the bones.² And indeed this custom corresponds to what we know from Chinese and Greek writers about the burial customs of the old Turks. 'If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall,

¹ Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him.'¹ In fact, in the difficult task of disentangling the Hiung-nu (Turks) and the Tung-hu (Tungus) tribes in the Chinese annals, one of the safest guides is the burial customs of these peoples, since the Tung-hu buried their dead, as they do sometimes now, on a high platform, while the Hiung-nu left the body in the tent or outside the tent for a long time. To this custom is due the fact that so few kurgans include the complete skeleton. The frequent absence of the skull, where the mask replaces it, may, however, be explained by the custom of keeping the skull among the living as a memento.

Moreover, the fact that some of the skulls found in the same communal kurgans have undergone posthumous trepanning in the region of the temple suggests that the skull was not left for the flesh on it to decay naturally, but that artificial means were employed to prepare it for the final burial ceremony. After the skull had been thus cleaned of all its soft tissues, all the openings were plugged with clay, and then the features of the face were reconstructed. In most cases a layer of clay covers the calvaria also. Sometimes a coating of gypsum is put on the top of the clay.

The artificial method of cleaning the skull and then reconstructing the features, so well known among various primitives of Melanesia and, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour, also of Mexico, might very well be taken for the genuine custom of the aborigines of the country, which were doubtless of Turkic race, while the more refined

¹ Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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764 gypsum casts may have been introduced by the people who brought the Bronze culture to this region. In support of the first part of this statement it is worthy of mention that Father Bichurin, whose translations of the Chinese annals have been made use of extensively in this investigation, says that a people living in Southern Mongolia, and possibly contemporary with the construction of these kurgans, had the custom of 'tearing off the skin from the dead', which seems to be a direct reference to this second mode of burial as being prevalent in Central Asia.¹

Goroshchenko, the Siberian anthropologist to whose thorough study of the osteology of the kurgans the author is indebted, thinks that the masks of the Chaa-tas type developed out of the casts of the Tagara type. But if we consider the archaeological remains there seems to be very little to show the difference in age between these two groups of kurgans, both of them differing from other Bronze Age kurgans in this, that they include both bronze and iron implements.² They should therefore be ascribed to the late Bronze Age type.

There is no doubt that the clear and refined features of the masks of the Tagara type, some of which can be seen in the Helsingfors and Moscow Museums, approach the 'Aryan' type—to retain this unsatisfactory but convenient term—while the masks of the Chaa-tas, with broader face and coarse features, approach the Mongolian type. But it is possible that the difference is merely superficial, and is explained by the different

¹ Father Jakynth Bichurin, *Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 197-9.

² K. I. Goroshchenko, *Skulls from the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District*, 1900, pp. 8-9.

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method of construction. The face as reconstructed on a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

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It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:¹ that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.²

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This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

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¹ Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

Cephalic Index.

Tagara Kurgans	74.6 (16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2 (13 ")

Horizontal Circumference.

Tagara Kurgans	522 (18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527 (14 ")

Altitudinal (Height) Index.

Tagara Kurgans	76 (6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5 (10 ")

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on the Altaians, published in 1881,¹ he says that many 142
 Altaians who have as yet had no contact with the
 colonists resemble in their type the Caucasians (Aryans).
 Blue eyes, chestnut and fair hair, and non-prominent
 cheek-bones are often met with, especially among the
 Kumandints.² And yet no record is known that the 144
 Aryans ever spread as far as the Altai Mountains; on
 the other hand, we know of the close association of
 the Turkic race with this region. The only plausible
 suggestion, therefore, is that the prehistoric contact of
 the Turks and Aryans, which brought the knowledge
 of bronze to Turan, affected the physical type of the
 Asiatic Turks just as it affected their nomad life, leading
 them to settle down to agriculture.

When remains of two archaeological periods are 172.
 found in one place the popular conclusion is that the
 later culture was brought to that place by the later
 comers. For a long time the archaeology of the
 Minusinsk district was treated in accordance with this
 rule. The Bronze period of the region was ascribed to
 some local autochthonous people. They were said to
 be peaceful, since there are hardly any weapons among
 the remains of this period. From the abundant remains
 of implements connected with agriculture and mining
 they were put down as agriculturists and miners, and
 finally they were described as democratic, because we
 find at that time communal graves and graves of common
 people generally, while in the Iron Age it is mostly the
 chiefs who enjoyed the privilege of burial in a kurgan.
 On the other hand, the Iron Age people were supposed

¹ N. M. Yadrintseff, 'On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars',
Bull. I. R. G. S., 1881.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

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- 172 to have been warlike nomads, who left behind them many weapons of war, who lived on their horses, and who were more or less like the nomad Scythians of the Greeks. The Bronze Age people are often set down as Finno-Samoyedic, or vaguely as Palaeo-Yeniseians, while the Iron Age people are set down as Turks. But a closer study of the region shows that the problem is not yet solved, and it may be stated as follows: Were the Bronze Age people quite different from the Iron Age people, and what is the relation of either or both of them to the remnants of the Turanians now living in this region?

The solution of this problem has usually been sought by the historical method of investigation, that is to say, by quoting disconnected facts obtained from free translations of the Chinese writers, who could not, of course, have a very intimate acquaintance with regions so far away. Again, in dealing with the present natives it has usually been linguistic considerations that have been taken as a basis for determining racial affinities.¹ But with all respect to the Chinese annals (which may perhaps one day be given to Europe in a full and authoritative translation), it would seem that as we are now able to read the history of these people from their archaeology and from their own inscriptions, it is possible to adopt an archaeological method, and to compare the results thus obtained with those arrived at by ethnological research. This provides a means of checking the work done by the historical method.

We have no direct information from the Chinese or any other sources as to the Bronze Age people of this

¹ This has been the case especially since the famous linguistic researches of Castrén some fifty years ago.

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region having been overrun by steppe nomads belonging to the Age of Iron. Archaeological evidence proves that the first period of the Iron Age evolved naturally out of the Age of Bronze, while the fact that the second period of the Iron Age is, as it were, interrupted by a new influx of Iron civilization—possibly owing to an invasion—does not necessarily mean that the invaders were of quite different race; they may have been of the same race but of more pastoral habits, and this may also account for the fact that the invasion escaped the comments of foreign historians. Since it is established that the late Iron Age is to be ascribed to the Turks, and that the early Iron Age does not differ sufficiently from it to warrant the assumption that these two stages of the Iron Age are the product of two different races, it follows that the Bronze Age people may well have been of Turkic, or at least Turkic-Iranian (Turkic-Aryan?) origin. However, even if we go so far as to assume an association between the Old Turkic race and the Bronze remains, it is necessary at the same time to remember that the knowledge of bronze-working and the types of implements produced were obtained from some centre of 'Aryan' culture, just as the characters of the inscriptions were borrowed from Semitic. 172 •

The ability of the old Turks to develop these borrowed arts is surprising, in view of the fact that no later Turks in Central Asia have reached so high a standard of civilization, but the explanation may possibly be that the Turks of that time were freer from Mongolian admixture than they have been since the thirteenth century, and that the 'Aryan' element in Central Asia was, at the time of this old culture, very considerable.

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● 172 In his recent book on the archaeology of this region Tallgren says: 'The people who developed the Bronze Age civilization of the Upper Yenisei might have been Turc or else Indo-European.'¹ He rejects the idea that they may have been some Palaeo-Siberian people of the same stock of the Ostyak of the Yenisei, who still live in this region, since, as he very rightly says, they could only produce 'une civilisation des non-civilisés', and even if it were right to call them autochthones of the country they could never play any part in its history. The author's personal knowledge of these people corroborates Tallgren's opinion.

The forests of Altai have been regarded by many prominent scholars of Siberia² as a natural environment for the beginning of settled life. Whether as cattle-breeders, as agriculturists, or as miners and smiths, the Altaians must always have been more settled than the people of the Caspian-Aral steppe. A study of the implements, both ancient and modern, bears out the hypothesis that we have here to do with a continuous sedentary culture. Furthermore, the continuation of the pictographs through both Bronze and Iron Ages points in the same direction, and the *tamga* or tribal (clan?) marks found on the implements and gravestones of both periods may still be seen at the present day on the reindeer and implements of the modern natives.

But though the passing of the Bronze Age into the Iron Age may have been a process of natural evolution

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

² N. N. Kosmin, 'Chern', *Sibirskiya Zapiski*, Aug. 1916, No. 3, pp. 95-112; D. A. Klements and Historical and Ethnographical Research in the Minusinsk Country; N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*.

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of the same people, this does not exclude the fact that about the middle of the Iron Age some invasion took place, which gave rise to wars, and to a correspondingly great development of implements of war. There is, however, as has been said, no proof that these invaders were of different race from the men of the Bronze and early Iron Ages, but as they came from a steppe environment they may quite well have brought other customs with them. Some fall in the scale of culture may also have occurred as a result of a decrease in, or perhaps entire absence of, contact with the people (probably Aryan) who must have influenced the Yenisei Bronze culture. But though changes there were, they were not fundamental, since the general culture was never destroyed, as it was after the Kalmuck of the Russian conquests. 172 •

The Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions so far known were written at the time when the supposed Turkic invaders were settling in the land they had conquered from the autochthones, but they certainly do not show the spirit of unacclimatized new-comers. The Turks of that time speak of themselves as inhabitants of the forest, not of the steppe. It is the dense forest *yish* (the same as *Chern*, 'black forest') that is constantly referred to in the Orkhon inscriptions.¹ The Orkhon Tu-kiu, when describing their fights with the Kirghis or other Turks, always say that these took place in the *yish*, and that their country, as well as the country of the Kirghis, is the *yish*. Judging from the original names of the rivers flowing in the forest regions of the upper Yenisei, they were all named by the Turks.

¹ The present Altaian 'Tatars' call themselves 'Tuba', 'Tubalar', or 'Yish-kis'.

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103 The Russians who first colonized this country² from the north took up the name Yenisei from the Tungus, whom they met first; they came in contact with the Southern Turks only after they had subjugated the Tungus. But even now, in the upper Yenisei region, the Yenisei is known as the Ulu-Kem, which again is formed by the junction of two streams with Turkic names, Bii-Kem (Bei-Kem) and Kha-Kem (Hua-Kem). These names recall the terms for the two chief rivers of the Altai, Biya (Bi) and Katun (Khatun), which were probably also named by the Turks.

• **172**
2/2 The dense forests of this region made communication between various tribes more difficult than it would have been in the open steppe. Hence arose the necessity of making on the bark of trees, or the flat surface of the rock, signs conveying various kinds of information. These signs, called by the Russians *myety*, gave rise to the pictographic writings called *pisanitsy*. Some of them seem to have been a means of conveying tribal information and a chronicle of events, others to have been connected with the religious cult, and these latter are very much like some of the pictures on the modern shaman's drum.¹ Still others may be nothing more than tribal *tamgas*. Great numbers of such engraved or painted pictographs are met with in the forest region of the northern Altai and upper Yenisei, while they are never found in the open steppes, where communication can be carried on much more easily by means of messengers on horseback or by smoke signals, and where chronicles are handed down by word of mouth.

¹ N. M. Yadrintseff, *The Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions in Siberia*, pp. 456, 476.

² [i.e. the region of the Yenisei --- Analyst]

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Curiously enough, it is recorded in the old Russian Cossack reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made accessible of late years, that the Kirghis, who were then fighting with the Mongolians of Jungaria, tried to communicate with the Cossacks, and to show them tracks through the forest, by means of such pictographic signs.¹ 172 •
212

In comparing the life of the old inhabitants of this region with that of the modern population it is natural to begin by considering the form of their dwellings. Unfortunately there are no indications as to the type of habitation of the people of the Bronze or the Iron Ages. The region furnishes, however, such a collection of various types of dwelling, that it is not fanciful to assume a long evolutionary development. First there is the very primitive tent, *suyulta*, or *alenchek* if covered with birch bark. Then there are quadrangular wooden dwellings called *aida*, still without windows. Next come wooden structures covered with earth, and provided with a window. These are called *kuzenek*, and in them a clay stove, *chuval*, has already replaced the smoke-hole of the more primitive types. There is an elaborated form, called *spa*, in which the whole structure is raised higher from the ground, and given a hexagonal shape, with a sloping roof. Within, it has a kind of small vestibule. The tent also has its line of development, for the use of such of the population as devote their attention to cattle-breeding, and hence are seasonal 172
342

¹ *Memoirs of Siberian History, Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, No. 58. N. N. Kosmin, in one of his recent journeys in the Amyl Taiga of the Minusinsk country, records that his Tatar guide, on striking camp left behind a notched stick, the notches on which indicated: 'Five of us slept here one night and went away in two boats' (N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 99).

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172 nomads. This, in its most elaborate form, is spherical,
342 and resembles to some extent the so-called Kirghis, or properly speaking Kaizak, tent, from which, however, it differs in having a conical top instead of being built round a circular frame. There also exist hexagonal, octagonal, and polygonal varieties. These are usually covered with felt, and are called *yurta*.¹

137 As regards the botanical environment, more data are
262 available for comparison. There are certain forest plants, very plentiful in the Altai and Sayan Mountains, whose roots are much esteemed as food by the modern Turks, as they seem to have been by the ancient. Among them are *sarana* (*Lilium Martagon*), *kandyk* (*Erithronium dens canis*), and *cheremsha* (*Allium ursinum*). So characteristic are these roots as articles of food among the present-day Turks that the names for the different times of the year are taken from the plants that are then in season. Thus Bes-ai is 'the month of *kandyk*' (May), and Ak-sep-ai is 'the month of *sarana*' (June).

172 The agriculture carried on in the clearings of the
241 forest was in the olden days similar to what it was at the time when the Russians first occupied the country. Barley seems to have been the chief product. On spots where the cattle have been pastured for some time the modern Altaians grow hemp. The vegetable ornament found in the late Bronze Age, and in abundance in the Iron Age, proves that the ancient inhabitants knew and used the same plants as are utilized by the present natives.

Among the agricultural implements found in the

¹ N. M. Yadrintseff, *On the Altaians and the Chern Tatars*, p. 8.

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kurgans are some which are in use up to the present time among the Tatars. Such are the *ozyp*, a kind of hoe used for digging up roots, and the *obyl*, a kind of primitive plough, which, if it has shafts, is called *andazyn*. Instead of a harrow they now use the trunk of a small tree with stumps of the branches left projecting. Many of the present Tatars, for instance those along the River Chu, reap their corn by tearing it off in handfuls; only in some places is a knife with a curved handle used for this purpose. No threshing implement occurs either in the graves or among the present inhabitants, but possibly in the olden days, as in some places up to modern times, there existed the practice of singeing the straw in order to dry it, when the grain can be separated by stirring it with a stick. There are not found, either in the graves or among the Southern Altaians, the typical mill-stones which are used by the Chern Tatars, but flat slabs of stone are met with between which the grain is rubbed. The remains of the irrigation canals, called *aryk*, show that they were more elaborate in the Bronze and Iron periods than their modern substitutes, sometimes called *sugak*. It is not known in what way land was fertilized in the olden days, but at the time of the arrival of the Russians, and to a certain extent until now, the natives chose old camping sites on which to sow their grain.¹

While some Turkic tribes, for instance the Kaizak, even now do not trouble to lay up winter stores for their cattle, the Altaians twist up straw into rolls, and store it in that way, which is also convenient for carrying.² Among the forest Tatars hay is prepared

¹ Yadrintseff, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*

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172 by being hung in bundles from the branches of
246 trees.¹

172 As for the animal world, there is a record that the Cossack Ataman Vasili Tumenets,² who passed through the land of Tuba on his way to Mongolia in 1616, found these people in possession of horses and reindeer, but without cattle or sheep. It is interesting to note that in all the archaeological remains both of the Iron and of the Bronze periods, a great many different species of deer are represented. Among the present Turkic tribes the deer, *syn*, is still the most popular animal. The horse and the goat are also favourite motives in the bronze zoomorphic ornament, and the mountain eagle and the swan are the most frequently represented birds. All this seems to prove that the metal-workers must have lived in the same environment as the modern inhabitants. But we find in the Bronze Age also representations of animals not known to frequent the upper Yenisei, such as the dromedary and the donkey.³ This would point to Southern influence, or at least to contact with a Southern people during the Bronze Age.

Thus it becomes clear that the people who were responsible for the early pictographs, and possibly for the bronze implements, as well as the people responsible for the Uigur inscriptions and the iron implements, are connected with the present remnants of the local Turkic population in the way in which they reacted to their botanical and zoological environment. No such similarity can be traced between the ancient inhabitants

¹ N. N. Kosmin, *Chern*, p. 98.

² A. V. Adrianoff, *Sketches of the Minusinsk Country*, 1904, p. 5.

³ Kosmin, *ibid*.

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and other sections of the modern population such as the Ostyak or the Samoyed. 172

Finally, it is curious that among the many primitive races of Northern and Central Asia only two tribes have a reputation as iron-workers, the Yakut and the Kuznietsk 'Tatars'—from *kusniets* (Russian), 'smith'. At the time of the Russian conquest the latter were paying tribute to China with iron implements of their own manufacture. It seems impossible to dissociate these people, whose original home was in the region of the Iron Age remains, from the ancient iron-workers. Of course, it is more difficult to trace their ancestry further back, though there is no evidence to prove that the Bronze Age people were of a different race from the people of the Iron Age. 326

The presence of rich mineral deposits in the country of the old Turks gave rise to an extensive mining industry, the high value of which, added to the richness of the animal and vegetable world, made the population of the *yish* self-satisfied, and disinclined to leave their lands. The Orkhon inscriptions contain many allusions to 'the benevolent earth and waters of the Turks', and unfriendly comments on the people who migrate from the forests and mountains to the open plain, take up Chinese trade, and develop the war instinct. I will allow myself to quote one of the most instructive passages of the Orkhon inscriptions. The author addresses his tribesmen: 'Whence came your lust for warfare? Ye went away, ye people of Utukan Yish, some to the west and some to the east, but all that ye found there, in the place to which ye came, amounts to this, that your blood was shed like water, and your bones heaped up in mountains; your strong sons are 172

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- 172 now serfs, and your clean daughters are fallen into slavery.¹ Surely this quotation does not bear out the idea cherished by some scholars, that the Turanian Turks, at the time when they enter history, were very similar to the Mongols, that is, were warlike nomads of the steppes. Such a description would to a great extent be applicable to the border population of the Kirghis, the nomadic Kaizak. But to judge the old Turks by the Kaizak would be equivalent to estimating the culture of modern Russia by that of the European Kaizaks or Cossacks.

Even if we find among some Turkic tribes of the present day a tradition of their having been originally steppe nomads, this notion may be classified with another fictitious Turkic tradition, namely, that which provides them with a descent from the Mongol Jinghis Khan.

Some Conclusions.

- 144 From this review of the archaeological, historical, and ethnological evidence, it seems obvious that the Turanian Turks may be considered to be a remnant of the old Turkic race which has passed through various changes in Central Asia, having been originally known as Hiung-nu. The Turks, who are here called Iranian, have lost to a much greater extent than the Turanians the line of genealogical continuity with the Hiung-nu, or even the Tu-kiu. Still more is this the case with those Turks who have passed through several more 'racial filtrations' and environmental influences, namely, the Azerbaijan and the Osmanly Turks. In fact, were it not for their Turkic language, the Osmanly would have to be classified among the

¹ Kosmin, *op. cit.*, p. 106.